

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:GBHELMAN:CB

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

IO:SWLEWIS

NEA:ALATHERTON

S:DPASSAGE

S/S: RPERITO

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O 080316Z DEC 76 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 298202 TOSEC 320044

NODIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, XF

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: UNGA CONSIDERATION OF
THE MIDDLE EAST (S/S NO. 76252 06)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO-LEWIS AND NEA-ATHERTON FROM
P - MR. HABIB

1. THE PROBLEM:

THE UNGA WILL BE VOTING ON THURSDAY ON THE EGYPTIAN
RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE (TEXT AT ATTACHMENT 3). AMBASSADOR DINITZ
HAS CONVEYED TO ROY ATHERTON HIS UNDERSTANDING BASED
ON HIS TALK WITH YOU THAT ISRAEL WILL WITHDRAW ITS
RESOLUTION AND THE UNITED STATES WILL VOTE AGAINST
THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION. WE ASSUME FROM WHAT YOU
TOLD PHIL HABIB OF YOUR CONVERSATION WITH DINITZ
THAT DINITZ'S UNDERSTANDING IS SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT.

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IN THAT EVENT, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MODIFY
AMBASSADOR EILTS' INSTRUCTIONS WHEN HE MEETS WITH
FAHMY, SINCE AS THEY STAND FAHMY COULD CONCLUDE
THAT, IF EGYPT MODIFIES ITS RESOLUTION TO MEET OUR
OBJECTIONS TO DEADLINES FOR MEETINGS OF THE SC AND

GENEVA CONFERENCE, WE WOULD SUPPORT IT. WE ALSO REQUEST YOUR APPROVAL OF A DRAFT STATEMENT FOR USE IN THE MIDDLE EAST DEBATE.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS:

THE PARLIAMENTARY SITUATION IN NEW YORK REMAINS IN FLUX. AS AMBASSADOR DINITZ PROMISED YOU, THE ISRAELIS PLAN TO WITHDRAW THEIR RESOLUTION ON DECEMBER 8. A SYRIAN RESOLUTION WHICH WE WILL CLEARLY HAVE TO OPPOSE IS AT ATTACHMENT 4. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE MADE NO FURTHER MODIFICATION IN THEIR RESOLUTION SINCE YOU SAW THE TEXT DECEMBER 6.

IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE EGYPT TO MODIFY ITS DRAFT RESOLUTION SO AS TO REMOVE ANY DATES AND DEADLINES FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING AND FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, YOU INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR EILTS TO APPROACH FAHMY AND TO ASK FAHMY TO TALK TO SADAT (STATE 296629 REPEATED SEPARATELY). EILTS AMONG OTHER THINGS WAS INSTRUCTED TO ASK THE EGYPTIANS TO MODIFY THE TEXT AND TO SAY THAT YOU DO "NOT SEE HOW THE UNITED STATES COULD SUPPORT A RESOLUTION WHICH SADDLES THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION WITH A COUNCIL MEETING SOON AFTER IT TAKES OFFICE, OR WHICH SETS A SPECIFIC DATE FOR THE CONVENING OF A PEACE CONFERENCE". WHILE WE DOUBT THAT AT THIS LATE POINT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR EGYPT TO ACCEDE TO YOUR REQUEST, IN THE EVENT IT DOES THEN THEY WOULD QUITE NATURALLY EXPECT US TO VOTE IN FAVOR OR AT A MINIMUM TO ABSTAIN. FAHMY WOULD CERTAINLY FEEL MISLED SHOULD WE VOTE AGAINST.

IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES -- AND ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE ISRAELIS BELIEVE WE WILL OPPOSE THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION
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SINCE THEY ARE WITHDRAWING THEIR RESOLUTION -- WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO REVISE THAT PORTION OF THE INSTRUCTION TO EILTS WHICH WE HAVE CITED. TO AFFORD YOU THE OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER CONSIDER THIS MATTER, WE HAVE ASKED EILTS TO POSTPONE HIS MEETING WITH FAHMY, IF POSSIBLE UNTIL THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9. WE HAVE ALSO PREPARED FOR YOU A CABLE TO EILTS WHICH ASKS HIM TO PROCEED WITH MOST OF THE PRESENTATION YOU HAVE AUTHORIZED BUT WHICH ASKS HIM NOT TO REQUEST EGYPT FURTHER TO AMEND ITS RESOLUTION (DRAFT INSTRUCTIONS AT ATTACHMENT 1), AND TO TELL THE EGYPTIANS OF OUR INTENTION TO VOTE AGAINST THEIR RESOLUTION.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. THAT YOU AUTHORIZE MODIFIED INSTRUCTIONS TO EILTS (ATTACHMENT 1) ASKING HIM TO EXPLAIN TO FAHMY WHY WE WILL BE VOTING AGAINST EGYPT'S RESOLUTION, IN AN EFFORT TO MITIGATE ANY ADVERSE EFFECT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH EGYPT.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

B. THAT YOU RECONFIRM YOUR INSTRUCTIONS TO HABIB THAT WE VOTE AGAINST THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION. IF FOR SOME REASON IT IS SUBSTANTIALLY MODIFIED, THEN WE WILL REQUEST FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOU.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

ALTERNATIVELY, IF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR DISCUSSIONS WITH DINITZ IS NOT SUBSTANTIALLY ACCURATE, THAT YOU AUTHORIZE AN ABSTENTION ON THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION. IN THAT EVENT, IN OUR EXPLANATION OF VOTE, WE COULD POINT TO VARIOUS FAULTS IN THAT RESOLUTION INCLUDING ITS ARTIFICIAL
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DEADLINE FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING AND FOR A RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE WOULD IN THIS CASE HAVE TO DISABUSE THE ISRAELIS OF THEIR BELIEF WE HAD AGREED TO OPPOSE.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

C. THAT YOU APPROVE THE DRAFT STATEMENT AT ATTACHMENT 2 FOR USE EITHER IN THE DEBATE OR IN CONNECTION WITH OUR VOTE, AT GOVERNOR SCRANTON'S DISCRETION. THE STATEMENT IS PREDICATED ON A NEGATIVE VOTE, BUT IS SUITABLE FOR AN ABSTENTION AS WELL.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

SECRET

- -

5. ATTACHMENTS:

1. PROPOSED NEW INSTRUCTION TO EILTS.
2. DRAFT U.S. STATEMENT.
3. EGYPTIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION.
4. SYRIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION.
5. PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS TO EILTS, STATE 276629,
REPEATED SEPARATELY.
6. DRAFTED BY IO/UNP-MR. HELMAN; CLEARED BY IO-LEWIS,
NEA-ATHERTON, S-PASSAGE; S/S-RPERTTO; APPROVED BY P-
MR. HABIB.

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ATTACHMENT NO. 1
BEGIN TEXT:

SECRET/NODIS

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TO: CAIRO IMMEDIATE

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, SC

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FAHMY ON UN RESOLUTION

REF: STATE 296629

GIVEN THE SITUATION THAT HAS ARISEN IN NEW YORK, PARTICULARLY THE ISRAELI DECISION TO WITHDRAW THE RESOLUTION THEY HAD EARLIER INTRODUCED, ADDED TO THE PROBLEMS ALREADY INHERENT IN THE EGYPTIAN DRAFT, I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO OUR VOTING AGAINST THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION. WE SHOULD NOT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES REQUEST THE EGYPTIANS TO MODIFY THEIR LANGUAGE, SINCE THE CHANGES WE REQUESTED WOULD NOT SUFFICE TO ALTER OUR VOTE. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS FOR ALL AFTER THE FOURTH TALKING POINT ENDING "ASKED US TO SUPPORT" IN THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED REFTEL:

--FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE RESOLUTION AND THOSE THAT WE MOST OBJECT TO ARE: FIRST, THE PARAGRAPH THAT REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONVENE SUBSEQUENT TO THE SUBMISSION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF A REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION--THIS WOULD BRING ABOUT A COUNCIL MEETING SOME TIME IN MARCH; SECOND, THE PROVISION CALLING FOR RESUMPTION OF THE "PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST" NOT LATER THAN THE END OF MARCH; AND THIRD,

THE REFERENCE CLEARLY INTENDED TO PUT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON RECORD AS REQUESTING THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO RESUME CONTACTS INTER ALIA WITH THE PLO AS A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT IN PREPARATION FOR RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.

--I MUST IN ALL FRANKNESS SAY THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE ON THE PART OF THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO FORCE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO DEAL WITH THE COMPLEX ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE PUBLIC AND CONTENTIOUS
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ATMOSPHERE OF A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN THE FIRST TWO MONTHS AFTER IT HAS TAKEN OFFICE. TO PROPOSE THAT IT DO SO

IN A MATTER OF WEEKS AFTER JANUARY 20 CAN ONLY HAVE EFFECTS SERIOUSLY DETRIMENTAL TO THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY RENEWAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

--AT A TIME WHEN I WOULD HOPE A NEW ADMINISTRATION COULD BE CONCENTRATING ON INITIATIVES TO SURMOUNT SOME OF THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS THAT EXIST IN RESTARTING NEGOTIATIONS, IT WILL BE HAVING TO COPE WITH ALL OF THE DIVISIVE ISSUES THAT CHARACTERIZE THESE COUNCIL MEETINGS AND WILL BE HAVING TO TAKE SIDES WITH RESPECT TO PROPOSALS THAT CAN ONLY REDUCE ITS CREDIBILITY WITH ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER AND LIMIT ITS CAPACITY TO MOVE IN CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL. IN THE END, AS WE HAVE SEEN TIME AND TIME AGAIN, THE COUNCIL WILL PRODUCE A RESULT THAT WILL IN NO WAY ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE OR LEAD TO RENEWAL OF REALISTIC NEGOTIATIONS. QUITE THE CONTRARY.

--UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IN THE FACE OF THE PROBLEMS WE SEE IN THE TEXT, I MUST TELL YOU FRANKLY THAT WE WILL HAVE TO VOTE AGAINST THIS RESOLUTION. I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE THOUGH I REGRET VERY MUCH HAVING TO TAKE A NEGATIVE POSITION ON A RESOLUTION ADVANCED BY OUR EGYPTIAN FRIENDS. THAT WE ARE PUT IN THE POSITION OF HAVING TO MAKE THIS CHOICE, AND THAT THE RESULTS WILL BE OTHER THAN EITHER OF US WOULD WISH, IS AN UNFORTUNATE EXAMPLE OF THE VERY POINT I AM TRYING TO MAKE.

END TEXT.

ATTACHMENT NO. 2

DRAFT STATEMENT: SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

AS WE MOVE THROUGH THE FINAL DEBATES OF THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, WE ARE ALSO APPROACHING THE END OF A DIFFICULT PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST -- THE YEAR OF THE TRAGEDY OF LEBANON. I WANT TO EXPRESS MY GOVERNMENT'S PROFOUND GRATIFICATION THAT THE LONG

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TRAVAIL OF THE PEOPLE OF LEBANON IS DRAWING TO AN END. WE WILL GIVE EVERY FEASIBLE SUPPORT TO PRESIDENT SARKIS AS HE FACES THE TASK OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HIS COUNTRY. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN LEBANON -- ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL UNITY PRESERVED -- WILL RESUME ITS PROUD AND RIGHTFUL PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN THE CALMER ATMOSPHERE IN THE AREA CREATED BY THE HEALING PROCESS IN LEBANON, IT IS NATURAL THAT ATTENTION IS TURNING AGAIN TO THE OVERRIDING ISSUE IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- THE NEED FOR PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT THAT HAS SO LONG BURDENED THAT REGION, WITHOUT WHICH NO PERIOD OF CALM CAN ENDURE. THERE IS TODAY FRESH INSISTENCE THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS RECOMMENCE, AND A SENSE OF IMPATIENCE WITH THE STATUS QUO WHICH WE SHARE WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. FOR OUR PART, WE BELIEVE CONDITIONS ARE NOW CONDUCIVE TO THE RESUMPTION OF EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS BOTH OF LEBANON AND OF THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

WE WELCOME THE RECENT ENCOURAGING STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN OF ISRAEL. HERE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, I FOR ONE WAS ENCOURAGED BY SOME OF THE COMMENTS MADE IN THE RECENT MIDDLE EAST DEBATE, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE JORDANIAN AND ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVES. AND NOW IN THIS DEBATE WE HAVE WITNESSED A UNIQUE EXPERIENCE -- THE INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS ADVOCATING A PEACE CONFERENCE BY BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

IN THE PAST, EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE OFTEN SEEMED TO RUN AHEAD OF DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO "HAPE THEM INTO A PEACEFUL COURSE. THIS NEED NOT AND MUST NOT BE THE PATTERN FOR THE FUTURE. OUT OF THIS CONVICTION WERE BORN THE U.S. INITIATIVES IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1973 WAR, TAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF THE PARTIES. THESE EFFORTS HAVE YIELDED THE

FIRST TANGIBLE, PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARD AN AGREED
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SETTLEMENT IN NEARLY THREE DECADES OF FIGHTING AND UNEASY TRUCES. THE THREE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN 1974 AND 1975 ARE PARTIAL AND INTERIM ACCORDS, BUT THEY HAVE HELPED GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION ESTABLISHED IN DECEMBER 1973 IN

GENEVA. THEY HAVE BEGUN TO BUILD PATTERNS OF COOPERATION, OF INTERACTION, OF NEGOTIATION WHICH ARE NECESSARY PREREQUISITES TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT.

MR. PRESIDENT, A NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL TAKE OFFICE IN WASHINGTON ON JANUARY 20. OBVIOUSLY, I DO NOT SPEAK WITH AUTHORITY ON THE DETAILS OF ITS POLICIES. THERE IS, HOWEVER, CONSISTENCY IN THE APPROACH OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH REFLECTS PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES ENJOYING OVERWHELMING PUBLIC SUPPORT IN OUR COUNTRY. WITH FULL CONVICTION AND CONFIDENCE, I THEREFORE SAY TO THOSE PARTIES WITH WHOM WE HAVE WORKED IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE THAT THEY CAN REST ASSURED WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THEM IN THIS VITAL EFFORT IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD. MUCH HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED ALREADY. MUTUAL COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO PURSUE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND THERE IS A BALANCED AND COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK IN THE FORM OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 WHICH CONTAIN THE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS FOR THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT NOW ABANDON ITS DETERMINED AND URGENT SEARCH FOR PEACE. WE WILL PERSEVERE AND WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SETTLEMENT WILL BE ACHIEVED. THE ALTERNATIVE IS UNTHINKABLE.

I TURN NOW TO THE RESOLUTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN CONNECTION WITH OUR DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE OMNIBUS RESOLUTION IS SIMILAR IN MANY RESPECTS TO A RESOLUTION WE OPPOSED LAST YEAR. WE SHALL DO SO AGAIN. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE BLANKET CONDEMNATIONS OF ONE SIDE CONTAINED IN THIS RESOLUTION ARE WARRANTED OR WILL HAVE ANY POSITIVE EFFECT. NOR DO WE SEE ANY LOGIC IN A
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CALL ON ALL STATES TO DESIST FROM SUPPLYING MILITARY AND OTHER AID TO ONE SIDE BUT NOT TO ANOTHER. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT SUPPORT AND WILL NOT BEGUAIDED BY THIS PROPOSAL IF IT IS ENDORSED. THIS RESOLUTION ALSO LACKS BALANCE IN ITS REFERENCE TO THE POTENTIAL ELEMENTS OF A PEACE. ONE SIDE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO GIVE EVERYTHING AND GAIN NOTHING.

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THERE IS NO REFERENCE 1)TO THE END OF THE STATE OF WAR, 2)TO AN AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDES NOT ONLY FOR THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIANS BUT FOR THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL AS WELL, AND 3)TO THE

RIGHT OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT ISRAEL TO EXIST IN
THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS RESOLUTION CONTAINS A REQUEST TO THE SECURITY
COUNCIL THAT CARRIES AT LEAST AN IMPLICATION THAT
SOMEHOW IT OUGHT TO IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT ON THE
PARTIES, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE WITHIN AN
"APPROPRIATE TIMETABLE". THE PARTIES TO THIS
DISPUTE HAVE ACCEPTED THE FRAMEWORK FOR A
NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH IS AIMED AT PRODUCING AN
AGREED SOLUTION. THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF WHAT HAS
BEEN ACCOMPLISHED -- A MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATE,
RATHER THAN TO RELY ON TIMETABLES OR IMPOSED SOLUTIONS.
THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS IN THE PAST AND CAN IN THE
FUTURE MAKE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE IN THE
MIDDLE EAST. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS EITHER
APPROPRIATE OR PRACTICAL TO LOOK TO THE COUNCIL TO
IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE TENDENCY TO WANT TO WRITE PRESCRIPTIONS IN ADVANCE
IS A NATURAL ONE, BUT IT IS ALSO A DANGEROUS ONE.
SUCH PRESCRIPTIONS, HASTILY FORMED, CAN CLOSE THE
DOOR TO PEACE RATHER THAN OPENING IT -- BECAUSE
THERE ARE STILL DIFFERENCES AMONG US AND ESPECIALLY
AMONG THE PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTE
AND THOSE DIFFERENCES CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED BY
NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THOSE PARTIES. WE CANNOT
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WRITE A PEACE AGREEMENT HERE, NOT AMONG 146 NATIONS,
NOR CAN WE BRING ABOUT A DETAILED PRESCRIPTION FOR
THE PROCEDURE FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE
WITHOUT ROUSING THE POSSIBILITY OF ALIENATION OF
ONE OR MORE OF THE PARTIES, WHICH WOULD DOOM THE
CONFERENCE BEFORE IT BEGAN.

(PARAGRAPH BELOW IS SUITABLE FOR EITHER A NO VOTE
OR AN ABSTENTION)

THIS BRINGS ME TO THE SECOND DRAFT BEFORE US,
RESOLUTION . THE MOTIVATION AND A GOOD DEAL
OF THE RESOLUTION ITSELF IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR VIEW
OF THE URGENCY OF RESUMING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.
WE ARE COMPELLED, HOWEVER, TO VOTE NO (ABSTAIN) BECAUSE O
SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN TWO AREAS. FIRST, THIS
RESOLUTION SETS AN ARTIFICIAL DEADLINE FOR RECONVENING

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F THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THIS IS NOT A MATTER FOR
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BUT RATHER FOR THE PARTIES
THEMSELVES TO DECIDE. IT ALSO SETS OUT A TIME FRAME

FOR A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, A DECISION WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO CONSULTATIONS AMONG COUNCIL MEMBERS IN LIGHT OF THE SITUATION AT THE TIME AND NOT PREJUDGED BY THIS ASSEMBLY. SECONDLY, THE REQUEST TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO RESUME HIS CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT IS PHRASED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO IMPLY THAT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE ONE OF THE PARTIES CONSULTED IN PREPARATION FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS ONE WHICH CAN ONLY BE ADDRESSED BY THE ORIGINAL PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES.

THE UNITED STATES IS IN A SPECIAL POSITION CONCERNING THIS PARTICULAR RESOLUTION AND, INDEED, WITH REGARD TO THE RECONVENING OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE -- A POSITION WITH WHICH ALL OF YOU
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ARE INTIMATELY FAMILIAR. THE PROCEDURES AND TIMING OF A RESUMED GENEVA CONFERENCE ARE MATTERS WHICH RIGHTLY MUST BE DETERMINED BY THE PARTICIPANTS THEMSELVES AND BY THE CO-CHAIRMAN. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY A QUESTION WHICH WILL BE ADDRESSED BY THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. ACCORDINGLY, WE WILL VOTE NO (ABSTAIN) ON THIS RESOLUTION. HOWEVER, IN SO DOING WE JOIN WITH ALL THE REST OF THE NATIONS HERE REPRESENTED WHO SINCERELY DESIRE THAT NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT RESUME PROMPTLY, AND THAT PEACE BE THE RESULT THEREFROM FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN CLOSING, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL THE WORDS OF SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER IN SPEAKING TO THIS ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1975:

"IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY THERE IS A YEARNING FOR PEACE SURPASSING ANY KNOWN FOR THREE DECADES. LET US NOT DOOM THE REGION TO ANOTHER GENERATION OF FUTILE STRUGGLE. INSTEAD, LET THE WORLD COMMUNITY SEIZE THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY BEFORE IT. THE SUFFERING AND BRAVERY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRY OUT FOR IT; THE HOPES AND INTERESTS OF ALL THE WORLD'S PEOPLE DEMAND IT. THE UNITED STATES PROMISES ITS FULL DEDICATION TO FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD

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PEACE."

--

THOSE WORDS HAVE GAINED IN URGENCY IN THE MONTHS

SINCE THEY WERE SPOKEN, BUT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE
STILL REMAINS WITH US.

ATTACHMENT NO. 3

DRAFT RESOLUTION A (EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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HAVING DISCUSSED THE ITEM ENTITLED THE SITUATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST;

TAKING NOTE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE
ITEM AND HIS INITIATIVE OF APRIL 1, 1976;

GRAVELY CONCERNED AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS TOWARDS THE
ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST;

CONVINCED THAT ANY RELAXATION IN THE SEARCH FOR A
COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT COVERING ALL ASPECTS OF THE
MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM TO ACHIEVE A JUST PEACE IN THE AREA
CONSTITUTES A GRAVE THREAT TO THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS WELL AS A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY;

1. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL:

(A) TO RESUME CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT,
AND WITH THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE
MIDDLE EAST, IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS INITIATIVE OF 1
APRIL 1976, IN PREPARATION TO THE EARLY CONVENING OF
THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST;

(B) TO SUBMIT A REPORT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE
RESULTS OF HIS CONTACTS AND THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE
EAST NOT LATER THAN THE FIRST OF MARCH 1977;

2. CALLS FOR THE EARLY CONVENING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE
ON THE MIDDLE EAST, HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED
NATIONS AND WITH THE CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE US AND USSR,
NOT LATER THAN THE END OF MARCH, 1977;

3. REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONVENE SUBSEQUENT
TO THE SUBMISSION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE REPORT
REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 1(B) ABOVE, IN ORDER TO CONSIDER
THE SITUATION IN THE AREA IN THE LIGHT OF THAT REPORT,
AND TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE AREA;

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4. FURTHER REQUESTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO INFORM THE CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE PRESENT RESOLUTION.

END TEXT.

ATTACHMENT NO. 4

DRAFT RESOLUTION B (SYRIAN RESOLUTION)

BEGIN TEXT:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 3414 (XXX) OF 5 DECEMBER 1975, AND NOTING WITH CONCERN THAT NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SAID RESOLUTION, IN PARTICULAR ITS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4;

RECALLING SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE OF JANUARY 12, 1976 ON THE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION IN IMPLEMENTATION OF PARAGRAPH (A) OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 381 OF 30 NOVEMBER 1975;

DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE INCREASING DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST DUE TO CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION AND ITS REFUSAL TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS;

REAFFIRMING THE NECESSITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE REGION BASED ON FULL RESPECT FOR THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS WELL AS FOR THE RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE;

AFFIRMS THAT THE EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 3375 (XXX), IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE REALIZATION OF A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT IN THE

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REGION;

CONDEMNS ISRAEL'S CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF THE ARAB TERRITORIES IN VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL

LAW AND REPEATED UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS;

REAFFIRMS THAT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CANNOT BE ATTAINED WITHOUT ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1976 AND THE ATTAINMENT BY THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE OF THEIR

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INALIENABLE RIGHTS WHICH ARE THE BASIC PREREQUISITES ENABLING ALL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO LIVE IN PEACE.

CONDEMNS ALL MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAEL IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO CHANGE THE DEMOGRAPHIC AND GEOGRAPHIC CHARACTER AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THESE TERRITORIES;

REQUESTS ONCE AGAIN ALL STATES TO DESIST FROM SUPPLYING ISRAEL WITH MILITARY AND OTHER FORMS OF AID OR ANY ASSISTANCE WHICH WOULD ENABLE ISRAEL TO CONSOLIDATE ITS OCCUPATION OR FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

REQUESTS THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES, WITHIN AN APPROPRIATE TIMETABLE, FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND PALESTINE;

REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO INFORM THE CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE UN PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST OF THIS RESOLUTION AND TO SUBMIT A REPORT ON THE FOLLOW-UP OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION TO THE 32ND SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

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END TEXT.

ROBINSON

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
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Film Number: P840099-0382
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761293/baaaeqxa.tel
Line Count: 640
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 12
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <07 SEP 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: UNGA CONSIDERATION OF
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, XF, UNGA
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006